



Speaker Bosma's unique challenges

A 'short & fast' 2016 session, the 'heaviest lift' on civil rights, and a 2020 governor bid

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – House Speaker Brian Bosma said the coming civil rights extension will be the “heaviest lift I’ve participated in.” Bosma told Howey Politics Indiana that it could require a “uniquely Indiana solution,” though he vowed that lawmakers “won’t be blackmailed” into a solution.



“It’s my hope that the House and Senate leaders and governor can end up the same page,” Bosma said during a 75-minute

interview on Monday at his downtown law office. “It may not be possible. But I don’t think it’s positive to divide the party on the issue.”

Bosma said the coming General Assembly session



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Mayoral race impacts

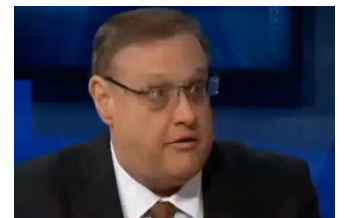
By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – While an outsider trend exists nationally, Hoosier city voters were mostly content with their current leadership as incumbents in Fort Wayne, Evansville, New Albany and Hammond rolled to big victories. And mayors in tougher reelection bids at Jeffersonville and Terre Haute held on.



There were a smattering of upsets in Anderson, Logansport and Peru, but far below the incumbent bloodletting urban voters perpetrated in 2007. Perhaps

the most surprising was Thomas Broderick Jr.’s upset of Republican Mayor Kevin Smith in Anderson, as well as Democrat Gabe Greer’s defeat of Peru Republican Mayor Jim Walker. Princeton Mayor Robert Hurst was defeated by Republican Brad Schmitt 61-39%. Lawrenceburg



“We believe this expansion is a necessary action for the General Assembly to take. We need to get this right in order to secure the reputation of Indiana.”

- Indiana Chamber CEO Kevin Brinegar on supporting the civil rights expansion



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Democratic Mayor Dennis Carr's loss was overwhelming in favor of Republican Kelly Mollaun, in a rematch in a city facing shrinking riverboat casino revenues.



Expected changes occurred in Logansport where Democrat Dave Kitchell easily defeated embattled GOP Mayor Ted Franklin by 400 votes. In Elkhart, former legislator Tim Neese defeated Democratic Mayor Dick Moore with 64%. "I'm surprised. I didn't think we would do quite that well," an exhausted Neese said as he celebrated with 200 supporters.

Unofficial results reported to the state Election Division from Tuesday's vote counts show Republican candidates for mayor winning 60 races, with Democrats winning 55. Independent candidates prevailed in five cities: Bedford, Delphi, Greendale, Mitchell and Southport. While Republican won more mayoral offices, Democratic mayors will lead seven of the state's 10 largest cities.

And Tuesday's elections have set the stage for a handful of mayors to emerge on a statewide stage. Evansville Mayor Lloyd Winnecke's 60% reelection win had his supporters talking about a 2020 Republican gubernatorial race. Joshua Claybourn, an ally of Winnecke's, told HPI, "He's sort of the perfect GOP candidate for the next generation. Likable, fiscally conservative and pro-life, but also pro gay rights. He will appeal to a growing segment of the GOP."

Joe Hogsett reclaimed Indianapolis for the Democrats in what gubernatorial hopeful John Gregg called an essential ingredient for his party's statewide comeback.

Asked about the impact of Hogsett's victory in Indianapolis, Gregg told HPI Wednesday, "It goes beyond me as a candidate. The mechanics of things is something I don't really want to get into. He took the campaign out to the streets. It sends a message that Hoosiers want to hear.



Democrat Joe Hogsett reclaimed Indianapolis for the party on Tuesday, and Republican Evansville Mayor Lloyd Winnecke's impressive landslide victory has supporters talking about a statewide run in 2020.

All I'm hearing is people want problem-solving, pragmatic leaders who can bring people together. Most mayors will tell you it's a very problem solving job. It's not partisan. They run in a partisan nature, but they're problem solvers."

It would not be a far fetch to see Hogsett also emerge in future gubernatorial cycles. Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott Jr. registered an emphatic fourth term victory in a city of 81,000 people, where he's been 12 years in office. Only 855 voted against him on Tuesday. McDermott told Howey Politics Indiana on Wednesday that while he'll consider future political options after soaking in Tuesday's victory, "I will not be on the statewide ballot in 2016. I have a 10-year-old son and I do not want to do a statewide campaign."

Both Republicans and Democrats can count on a deep bench. South Bend Mayor Peter Buttigieg won a landslide second term with 74%, after he announced he was gay earlier in the year. Fort Wayne Mayor Tom Henry easily dispatched Councilman Mitch Harper for a record third

term for a Democrat. Kokomo Mayor Gregg Goodnight also won a resounding third term. All will be on short lists for lieutenant governor nominations.

Rising stars for Republicans in addition to Winnecke include LaPorte Mayor Blair Milo, who won with 80% of the vote and became the first mayor to be reelected there in two decades.

Anderson Mayor Smith's loss came in his fifth mayoral race, after winning in 2003 and again in 2011. He told the Anderson Herald-Bulletin this would be his final campaign, and Elkhart's Moore also said he was retiring from politics.

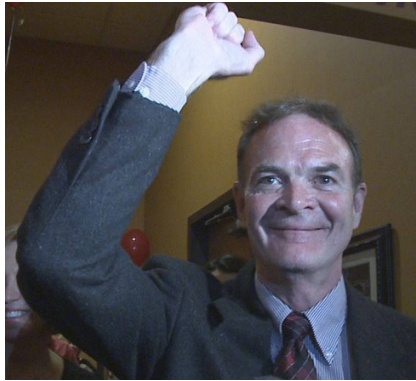
Democratic dynasties continued in Richmond where Dave Snow defeated Republican Kyle Ingram, coming after three terms of Mayor Sally Hutton, and John Hamilton did the same in Bloomington, following the retiring Mark Kruzan. Goshen Councilman Jeremy Stutsman's defeat of Republican Mary Cripe comes on the heels of two terms by retiring Mayor Allen Kauffman.

The survivor award has to go to Terre Haute Mayor Duke Bennett, the Republican who won a third term in a city that had long devoured its incumbents. Bennett defeated Vigo County Councilman Mark Bird 52-48, despite months of headlines about the city's tax cap-constrained city budget. Bennett stopped a skein of one-term mayors in 2011, and becomes the first Republican in history to win three elections in this long-time Democratic bastion. "I'm humbled that the citizens wanted me back again," Bennett told the Terre Haute Tribune-Star. "Obviously it's a tight race. You never know how these things are going to come out. ... It came down to the last precinct. I'm just really happy and thankful that people are affording me another four years to continue to move [the city] in the right direction."

Another was Portage Mayor Jim Snyder, who edged Democrat Portage Township Trustee Brendan Clancy by 225 votes. Jeffersonville Republican Mike Moore topped Councilman Dennis Julius with 55% of the vote for a second term in what appeared to have been a close race.

Left hanging is Jasper Mayor Terry Seitz, who ended up in a tie with Democrat Wayne Schuetter at 1,856 votes. If the totals don't change in a possible recount, the Jasper City Council will vote on a new mayor by Dec. 31. City Attorney Renee Kabrick told HPI that the current Jasper council is four Democrats and three Republicans, while the incoming council taking oath of office on Jan. 1 will be four Republicans, three Democrats. (See page 12 for more Jasper coverage).

In two races where incumbents were defeated in the primary, Lebanon Republican Matt Gentry easily defeated Michele Thomas with 65% of the vote. But in Delphi, where Democrat Jack Wilson upset incumbent Mayor Randy Strasser last May by a handful of votes, 25-year-old



Elkhart Republican Mayor-elect Tim Neese celebrates his victory over two-term Mayor Dick Moore.

independent Shane Evans won over Democrat Louis Hayden and Wilson. He joins Bedford independent Mayor Shawna Girgis as independent, who won a third term.

Democrat Dave Kitchell pulled away from one-term incumbent Republican Ted Franklin Tuesday, garnering 62 percent. Democrats turned what had been a 6-1 majority (with one independent) and a Republican mayor and clerk-treasurer into a 6-1 majority. Republicans had not won back-to-back mayoral elections in Kitchell's lifetime, and Kitchell becomes the fourth Democrat since 1980 to lead the city.

Kitchell said the negative

campaigning of his opponent proved to be a negative for the incumbent in the end. Mark It Red, the same firm that direct mailed a super majority for the Republicans last year, was Franklin's campaign consultant. Kitchell, who was outspent, worked independently, designing his own campaign signs, writing his own television and radio commercials, and authoring his own social media campaign. "I think this campaign maybe sent a message that negative campaigning maybe isn't as effective as everyone thought it was," Kitchell said. "I think what's relevant is that when an incumbent doesn't have a record they want to tout, or a plan for the next four years they want to promote, negative campaigning is probably the only option, and that's what this campaign was really all about."

In addition to party changes in Peru, Logansport, Elkhart and Princeton, Marion Democrats reclaimed City Hall after three terms of Republican Mayor Wayne Seybold, as Democrat Jess Alumbaugh defeated Republican Grant County Commissioner John Lawson with 60% of the vote.

In Southeastern Indiana, Aurora Republican Mayor Donnie Hastings Jr., and Madison Mayor Damon Welch were both reelected. Clark County Republicans picked up a net seven seats that switched from Democrat to Republican in 2015, giving the GOP a council majority in Jeffersonville, Charlestown, Sellersburg, and for the first time ever, Clarksville. It continues a conversion of the county from Democrats to the GOP. Republicans took 21 seats overall on election day including the mayors of both Charlestown and Jeffersonville. That number could increase with pending recounts in the Jeff City Council at large and Sellersburg District race that are too close to call.

Mayors running without major party opposition included Democrats Ted Ellis of Bluffton, West Lafayette's John Dennis, Lafayette's Tony Roswarski, East Chicago's Anthony Copeland, Gary's Karen Freeman-Wilson, Muncie's Dennis Tyler, Angola's Dick Hickman, Vincennes' Joe Yochum and Republicans Jim Brainard of Carmel, Andy Cook of Westfield, SuzAnne Handshoe of Kendallville, and John Ditslear of Noblesville. ❖

Bosma, from page 1

will be “unique” and “exceptionally short and fast.” He reiterated his call for the methamphetamine ingredient pseudoephedrine to become a prescription drug, expressed confidence House Republicans will maintain a “strong working majority” in the 2016 election, and believes that Gov. Mike Pence will be reelected.

And Bosma listed infrastructure and a possible gas tax increase, and confronting the teacher shortage with free tuition or debt forgiveness for people willing to teach in Indiana for five years as a potential solution. The Indianapolis Republican said he was “all ears” when it comes to an elusive solution for the heroin epidemic sweeping the state, as well as ways for confronting the wave of school shootings.

And, asked about a potential gubernatorial candidacy in 2020, Bosma said, “It’s always been something I’ve hoped to be able to do.”

Asked at the beginning if he had any general comments, Bosma said, “This is going to be a different session. Every session has its own flavor and this one is going to be unique. It’s going to be exceptionally short and fast. And after big accomplishments in a lot of different areas, it’s going to concentrate

on a handful of issues and not likely to be a mini-version of the long session. I think we’re going to concentrate on a few important issues and move on. From our team’s perspective, the top two issues we are going to be dealing with are transportation and infrastructure funding and teacher quality issues, hopefully all in a positive vein with programs to try and address teacher quality in a positive way. We are trying to attract some of Indiana’s best young people into the profession.

“And,” Bosma said, “we’ll deal with the issue of reconciling freedom of conscience with non-discrimination. That’s going to be a heavy lift; the heaviest lift I’ve participated in on any issue. I’ve committed to oversee a civil policy discussion on the issue and we’ll see where elected officials want to go with it.”

Here is our exclusive HPI Interview with Speaker Bosma:

Indiana and national political climate

HPI: Give me an overview of the political climate. I’ve had multiple sources tell me the governor’s reelect is

in the lower 30th percentile. The Ball State and the Realtors polls (see page 11) will be coming out in the next couple of months. So we’re going to be seeing an emerging trend line. You will also be defending 71 House seats. And then you’ve got unpredictable presidential and U.S. Senate races. What are you seeing from your vantage point politically?

Bosma: My current assessment is it won’t be an optimal year, but we will retain a strong majority, but keeping a super majority may be very difficult. That has happened only a few times in our history, and generally not in presidential election years.

HPI: Has a super majority ever been retained?

Bosma: It would have happened in 1972. It gave us a super majority in a presidential year in 1972 (Publisher’s note: It ended in the post-Watergate year of 1974). Our presidential years are a little tougher. Much depends on where the parties end up, especially where the Republicans end up on their nominee. But we’ve got some key retirements that are occurring, in districts that will be tough to hang on to. We’ll have a very strong working majority to get things done. We’ll see what happens on the national basis. I feel good going in.

HPI: Do you have a horse in the presidential race?

Bosma: I do not yet have a horse. I know most of the candidates. Jeb Bush I probably

know better than the others. I don’t know Donald Trump at all. I’d say after the last debate, I’d be very shocked if he stays in the race for the long haul. Marco Rubio I came to know when we were both speakers of the House, elected in 2004, and I think he’s got a bright future. John Kasich is uniquely qualified in several different ways. He’s not an attractive candidate, but he’s qualified. We’ll see how it shakes out. I seriously haven’t selected a horse. Mrs. Bosma wants to vote for Marco Rubio.

HPI: In the U.S. Senate race, are you backing anyone? We don’t have an heir apparent like a Dan Quayle.

Bosma: We’ve got great qualified candidates. That’s what we’re blessed with. They come from different places on the ideological scale with different experiences. Hoosiers have the opportunity to select who they want to represent them in what I consider to be a currently dysfunctional federal government.

HPI: Gov. Pence, with the economy going the way it is, the jobless rate, and some successes with high tech jobs, seems to be struggling politically. Any observa-



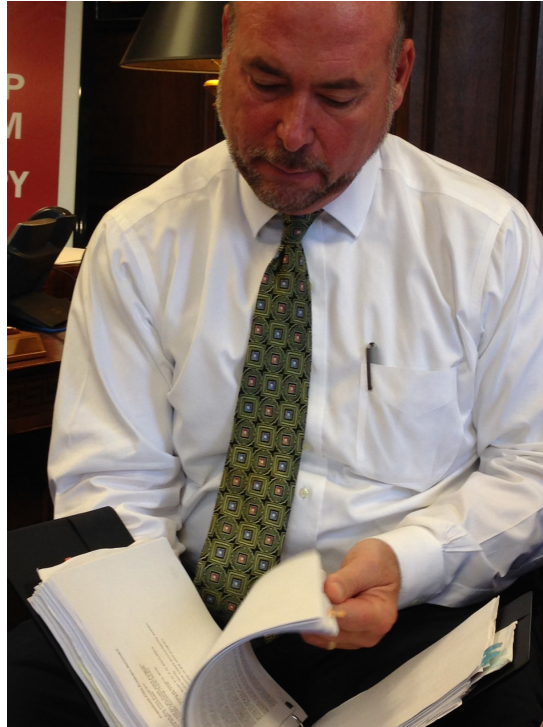
‘My current assessment is it won’t be an optimal year, but we will retain a strong majority, but keeping a super majority may be very difficult.’

tions on that front? We saw Gov. Daniels' reelect in the 40th percentile at one point in 2006. Are you confident the governor can win reelection?

Bosma: Yes I am confident. We don't put him in the 30s, we put him in the 40s on reelect. The head-to-head isn't too dramatically different than it was at the end of the last election cycle.

HPI: Based on House Republican Campaign Committee polling?

Bosma: Based on our polling. And there's been some very, very strong economic news here in Indiana. The governor can rightly take credit. Our people can take credit for a great deal of it over the last eight or 10 years. It's really strong news when you have a major expansion on relocations, record investments coming to Indiana, making us the manufacturing center of the United States, so this is strong, strong business and I think the governor can successfully ride it to victory.



'Our polling this summer actually indicated that Hoosiers are ready to invest, paying more for a gallon of gas for increased highway taxes. That's an option.'

Infrastructure

HPI: Let's talk infrastructure. I thought the I-65 thing was not a derelict bridge, but it certainly generated the headlines and brought attention to the civil engineers' report card that rates Indiana at a D+. How are you going to frame the infrastructure funding and priorities?

Bosma: Infrastructure and age is endemic across the nation. Almost every state is dealing with the issue that much of our Interstate infrastructure was constructed 60 years ago and is in severe need of replacement and upgrading. Now there are those, like the guys who are running the ads that the governor's decisions have resulted in the safety (issues), that's absolutely not the case. First of all, the investment over the last three years has been record investment, with the exception of Major Moves. We've pushed well in excess of \$1 billion, closer to \$1.5 billion in state and federal road funding. You can't look back and find anything even remotely close to that in either Republican or Democrat administrations. Now having said that, there is still much to be done. Hoosiers are aware there is much to be done. Our polling this summer actually indicated that Hoosiers are ready to invest, paying more for a gallon of gas for increased highway taxes. That's an option. It's worth a discussion.

HPI: I saw gas in Franklin at \$1.99 last week. With the gas prices low right now, it's kind of all relative. Isn't this a window of opportunity for a gas tax increase that might last for five or 10 years to meet the needs?

Bosma: I bought it at a \$1.99 last week as well. We haven't had a gas tax increase since 2002. We've had falling revenues because of some cases a decrease in road miles, greater efficiencies, an influx of CNG vehicles, electric and hybrid vehicles. Yes, we probably do have a unique opportunity here. Whether elected officials who have been cutting taxes over the past 15 years will do that, we'll see.

HPI: Are you concerned that national guys like Grover Norquist, who never drive on Indiana roads, are coming in and advocating against a tax hike?

Bosma: Yeah. That's kind of outrageous. It's difficult terrain to navigate, but we'll have a good faith discussion about it. There's some other low hanging fruit as well, and the governor identified it. We do have sufficient reserves to transfer a quarter billion dollars to road funding. We have the first inroads of making Motor Vehicle Highway Fund just fund roads, by taking off all the diversions,

the state police and other expenditures out of there. We put 7 cents of that tax on a dollar into the Motor Vehicle Highway Fund. It should be a top priority to make that a permanent contribution to the fund. So there are things we can do here. There are things that gave a little pause to our fiscal guys, a few aspects of the governor's proposal

HPI: The bonding?

Bosma: The bonding; a 20-year bond for maintenance which buys seven years. It's certainly better than Evan Bayh's 50-year bond issue. But we intended to try and pay cash because we've had the luxury of tight fiscal reins. We'll look. There may be an opportunity to do some bonding with those existing pennies on the dollar sales tax that might give us an opportunity to have a dedicated funding source. (House Roads and Transportation Chairman) Ed Soliday has been meeting with people all summer. I have been meeting with folks. Tim Brown on Ways & Means and his folks are going to introduce a bill that probably has a lot of options in it and then through the normal legislative process start paring the options down to what a majority can support.

HPI: With an eye January's HPI Power 50 list, who else will be playing a key role on this front?

Bosma: Soliday, Tim Brown, myself, the Senate equivalents, and the governor's team as well.

HPI: The 54 mpg vehicles are supposed to be on the market by 2020, right?

Bosma: The engineers aren't saying that but the President does.

HPI: So in five years, we are supposed to have a wave of 54 mpg vehicles.

Bosma: Where are those flying cars? Popular Science said they were supposed to be here by now. That plays into it. If we do nothing else, we have to index on our gas tax so it does take into account the increased mileage efficiency, and then we need to figure out a way for those who drive alternative vehicles pay their fair share as well. If you drive an electric vehicle, you pay nothing for our roads. If you drive a hybrid like my wife, you pay less. We address to a certain degree compressed natural gas vehicles. We're also taking a hard look at the work necessitated by big, over-road truckers. Those vehicles really do damage. They are essential to our economic welfare but they do damage to our highways, in fact, a majority of it. We have to ensure they are in the funding flow, too.

HPI: IACT is calling for a sustainable source of local road funding. They talked to me about allowing cities and towns, without county council approval, to provide for a local wheel tax. What's the problem with that idea? If a local city councilman or town board member wants to raise local wheel taxes, where is the political danger to a legislator or governor?

Bosma: We do need to give locals more opportunities and tools to self-fund all kinds of projects, including infrastructure. I'm a fan of giving them more flexibility with the existing tools that are out there, most of them local option income taxes. Some require that they be dedicated only to property tax relief, but our residential property taxes are the lowest in the nation, so I'm not certain that is as critical as when it was enacted in 2007. Some of these tools we just have to make more flexible. We'll have a good conversation about that. We're trying to decouple some of those coupled requirements. That will run into some headwind by the author of the coupling.

HPI: Who would that be?

Bosma: That would be Sen. Kenley. I'm sure there will be discussions. I'm confidence he understands



‘Attracting some of the licensed folks back to the classroom is an interesting prospect, but we also need to attract the younger people from the top of their class . . . ‘

the needs as well.

HPI: Anything else on infrastructure?

Bosma: I will just restate that we understand that locals have a concern here as well, and a need. Some took the governor's omission of local road funding plank as a slap. It wasn't. It was focused on the state need. He acknowledged the local need as well. It's a big need, probably \$1.5 billion is what we're talking about. We'll have a short-term solution in the short session and then a longer term solution in 2017.

Teacher shortage

HPI: On the teacher shortage, Michael Hicks says there isn't one. DOE says there is. Frame how you're going to approach this.

Bosma: Well, first I think Dr. Hicks' point is there are a lot of licensed teachers who aren't in the classroom, for a variety of reasons. Some, like my daughter, get a degree and then decide to do something else other than elementary ed. Some take time off. Some don't care for it and find another opportunity. So attracting some of the licensed folks back to the classroom is an interesting prospect, but we also need

to attract the younger people from the top of their class into the classroom while retaining those we already have. We are going to have several bills this year. I will carry one myself; it will provide a scholarship to Hoosier high school students from the top of their class who would be attracted to teaching and who would remain in the classroom for five years. I feel that will be a great attracter. I've already talked to the folks at Ball State who are interested in it. That idea came to me from Gordon Hendry of the State Board of Education last year. So we're going to work with all of those folks to make it happen. The Ball State president wants to make that happen; I haven't chatted with IU and Purdue yet.

HPI: Loan forgiveness?

Bosma: Either loan forgiveness or perhaps we just pay for their education upfront. If they don't stay in the classroom for five years, then the loan comes back to life. There are other ideas. If you are a teacher certified in another state, you can barely find out if you can teach in Indiana. On the Georgia Department of Education website, you can find out with one click what you have to have. In Indiana, you can't find clearly whether you can teach here. We need to make that more welcoming. There are plenty of talented folks in business and academia who need to receive some alternative certification. In high-need areas we need to make that as simple and easy as possible.

HPI: There is a lot of fear in teaching circles about the evaluation process. Last week Gov. Pence suspended the A-F accountability teacher raise situation. Is that a correct approach?

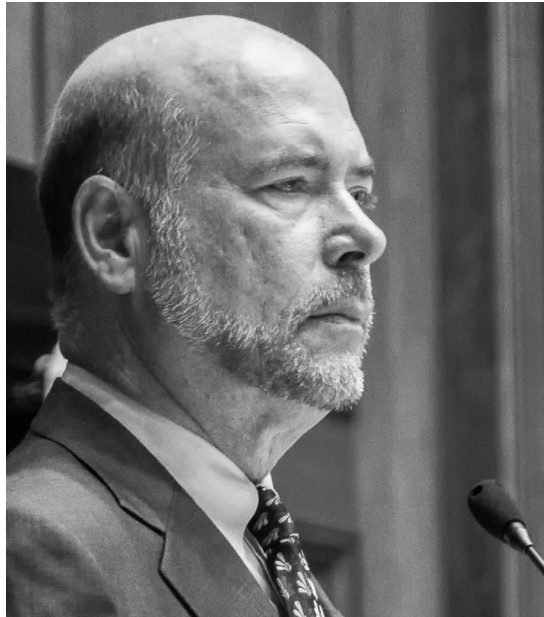
Bosma: There is always angst when there is change. I think it is important we have evaluations. I've heard from administrators that it's a great tool. Should we toss that system? Absolutely not. Every other profession has a formalized evaluation process and it's appropriate. It needs to be fair and it needs to be conducted in a manner where there is teacher buy-in. Much of this depends on the superintendents and principals. We need to concentrate on having strong leaders in those offices. Those are really the key to empowering teachers. We need to emphasize that.

HPI: The switch from Common Core to what I call Common Core 2.0 seems to have created the situation the governor dealt with last week. Is that a correct assessment?

Bosma: No. That is the way those who don't like accountability like to spin it. We all knew. The standards are uniquely Indiana standards. They are not totally opposite Common Core. We had the most strong reviews in Indiana history where a diverse, broad board of educators compared Common Core to our own 2011 standards. We picked the best. We have to have a test specific to those standards. In every state that has done this, in the year of transition the scores have gone down. There will be an adjustment period. It would seem to me as an ex-engineer that you could just move the bell curve and compensate for it, but apparently there are federal regulations that need to happen. It was appropriate for the governor to say, "Hey, we're going to take a pause on the grading being incorporated into teacher bonuses for a year and see how it shakes out." It was anticipated. We hoped it wouldn't be as deep a drop as it was. When you raise standards, grades are going to go down. Everyone who has been involved with it from the board of education to the superintendent knew that there was going to be an adjustment.

HPI: Will it be a one year blip? Or five years?

Bosma: One or two years to work our way through it. The schools will adjust to the higher standards and the teachers will adjust, and the students will ad-



'I would be more than pleased to have pseudoephedrine as a prescription drug because even with our sophisticated tracking system in place, they are getting multiple purchasers'

just. By every measurement, Indiana education has improved over the past decade, look at SAT scores, graduation rates, performance on NAEP and it's up, up, up. These are all good things. It's painful to go through change, but it's appropriate and we're on a good trajectory.

Meth and heroin

HPI: I want to segue into public health because there's a connection between what's happening with families and performance in classrooms. There's a growing meth, heroin and the HIV crisis. We have some huge public health issues that dovetail into the quality of parenting and the caliber of students.

Bosma: This is a difficult problem. You would presume . . . as unemployment increases, there would be a surge in similar social problems. But with historic high employment, we're experiencing these, especially in the rural areas and in the urban areas. I have no silver bullet, no magic bullet. Clearly we have a supply issue. We have a fairly major drug supply zone right here in Indianapolis.

HPI: These suppliers are ingesting (heroin) in balloons and flying into Indy International. Then they're driving to Dayton and it's ending up in places like Connersville and Richmond. That's stunning.

Bosma: It is. And honestly, I don't know how to stop it. Increased law enforcement is not magic bullet. We talked last year with law enforcement agencies about coordination efforts: Getting communication, making sure communication is taking place at the highest levels. We were assured it was. My ears are wide open on this. If there's a hopeful solution we can adopt in the General Assembly, I'll be all over it.

HPI: Former HPI writer Matthew Butler and I have asked you about this last year, but should pseudoephedrine be a prescription drug?

Bosma: I am a fan of putting it on a prescription. I know that it's controversial with many folks, but I would more than pleased to have pseudoephedrine as a prescription drug because even with our sophisticated tracking system in place, they are getting multiple purchasers to travel from spot to spot.

HPI: It's not working.

Bosma: It's not working.

HPI: You're the Speaker of the House. Is this an issue where you say "Hey, I can take my political clout and make a difference." Is this the kind of issue where you should do that?

Bosma: It might very well be. But it's a controversial solution. The state police think it's a great idea. The pharmaceutical people obviously do not. There is some disagreement in the law enforcement community as to whether it would be an effective step. Even those who say yes, frequently say maybe. There are other sources of supply all around us.

School shootings

HPI: The United States had its 48th school shooting this year, the latest last weekend in North Carolina. We are fortunate, other than the murder at Purdue, where we haven't had a mass shooting here. As someone in a position of power, someone with a bully pulpit, what are your thoughts on this? What should we be doing to prepare?

Bosma: I'm not sure. I can tell you some things in the works that need to happen. K-12 campuses, the resource officer training, the training of school personnel is going on right now. It's a very different approach. And the close the door, hide and be quiet program is changing.

HPI: It was jarring to me that the state police would advocate run, hide or fight. It seems to me we've crossed a threshold where we can no longer assume our kids will be safe at school. Did it have that kind of impact on you?

Bosma: You have to be careful how many alleged school shootings there have been. I'm not saying there have been too many, but I've seen numbers where those who are looking for a gun control solution are pumping the numbers at us.

HPI: I'm not trying to do that. When you and I were in junior high, high school or college, I never thought about a shooting rampage. It never dawned on me that someone might show up at Ballentine Hall and start shooting. These days, kids do think along those lines.

Bosma: Our culture has definitely changed. Cheryl and I went to a movie the other night and I chose my seat a little differently than I would have five years ago. The reality with our kids having to deal with it on campus is shocking. Solutions are not easy to find. Again, we're listening. Our ears are wide open. The extremes of trying to confiscate guns on one side and arming everybody on the other, there has to be something in between that is sensible. Not all of these issues, but many of them, involve



'Cheryl and I went to a movie the other night and I chose my seat a little differently than I would have five years ago. The reality of our kids having to deal with it on campus is shocking.'

mental instability. We need to be on alert for these things. Parents need to be on top of what their child is doing.

HPI: I've looked at the Indiana funding for mental health services and it is low nationally, like 38th. Should we be looking at a more comprehensive approach to mental illness?

Bosma: Yes. No doubt, as a nation we need to. There's an epidemic there as well. There are a variety of factors.

HPI: What steps can the General Assembly take on this? Should there be a summer study committee on school violence and mental health resourcing? Are we getting close to that type of thing?

Bosma: That would be a possibility. I'm uncertain a summer study committee would illuminate that, but it might. The recent investment in additional resource officer training was wise by the governor. We have to make those resources significantly more available than they were five years ago.

HPI: If we have a Newtown or a Columbine here, that will change a lot of things politically and policy

wise. Does that keep you up at night?

Bosma: If you thought about it, sure it would keep you up at night. The randomness of violence, whether it is drug related or mental health related or grudge related, is not new to our country or state. We've been blessed not to be the site of one of these.

Redistricting commission

HPI: You've been supporting an independent redistricting commission. Now that the study process is underway, any thoughts?

Bosma: I think it's a healthy discussion. I happened to meet with Ted Boehm last Friday. He is one of my appointees to the commission and is, of course, a fan of nonpartisan redistricting. There are fans and detractors on the committee. That's good. That's how public policy is discussed. I think it's too early to make a call. It's good to have the debate begin.

HPI: Walk me through the time line. It's 2015. Could we have an independent commission in place by 2021?

Bosma: There is the possibility. It either requires a transitional year without a constitutional change, or a constitutional change that could be done in time. It can happen.

Civil rights extension

HPI: We've been dealing with the gay marriage issue now for, what? 15 years?

Bosma: That issue has left the port. I still have people who want to talk about it. Honestly, I had somebody from an important position talk to me about disregarding the Supreme Court's decision. My response was, whether I agree with it or not, it's the law of the land. This is a person who's been around for a long time and has taken several oaths himself about upholding the constitution, the laws of the state and the nation. Until there's a decision that's not the law, it's the law.

HPI: On the civil rights extension, there was news about you meeting with Greg Louganis after he was asked to leave the governor's press conference at the State Library last April at the height of the controversy. He's an American hero. Did he have an impact on your perspective following RFRA?

Bosma: Hopefully I may have impacted his perspective, in all honesty. When I was told he had been asked to leave the press conference, we reached out. I was horrified. He's an American hero.

HPI: I was there and saw it. It was a press conference for the news media. He had his dog with him.

Bosma: They (Gov. Pence's staff) didn't know who he was. My team clearly did. We invited him over so he understood and knew how we view him as a human being. It's ironic, we talk about how Indiana is welcoming or not, he felt very unwelcome. We let him know right on the spot. We let the governor know. The governor met with him the following day, and his parents. The governor didn't know about it personally, that he was asked to leave. So yeah, it was good to have a chance to meet with him. I think he was shocked we reached out to him so quickly. We had a good conversation. We watched the governor's press conference on TV. A parade of people on my team and my office who wanted to meet him. It was good. I think it underscored that while debates are difficult we are all people and hopefully there is room in our state to disagree on issues and still be treated with respect.

HPI: My analysis over what's been happening is that everyone is digging in. Sen. Delph told me about the Utah Compromise where all the key stakeholders gathered and found a solution. But I'm seeing all the stakeholders digging in, from the family groups to Freedom Indiana. I think it's better to get people to the table. Is there any



'No. 1, everyone should be free to live in accordance with their own conscience, and No. 2, Hoosiers don't like discrimination. It's my hope that the House and Senate leaders and the governor can end up on the same page. It may not be possible.'

where (people are) required to participate in a marriage ceremony they disagree with. That is the place where we are going to have difficulty finding the right spot to land. Reasonable minds would say, "Gee, if they don't want to do the flowers at my wedding, some people will, so that's where I'm going to spend my money." Not everyone is reasonable. So we have to find the spot where there is an exemption for that kind of public accommodation or one based on size of operation, restrictive means of accomplishing it. That's the delicate spot to find. It's my hope that the House and Senate leaders and the governor can end up the same page. It may not be possible. But I don't think it's positive to divide the party on the issue.

HPI: But it's already happening, from the 5-4 Carmel City Council vote, to the Elkhart and Goshen city councils. It's dividing the Republican Party at more of a micro local level. It's divided the economic and social conservative wings, the Baby Boomers from the Millennials.

Bosma: If I believe my numbers, Hoosiers are exactly, equally in favor of no discrimination and not forcing people participating in a ceremony they disagree with. 47/48%. It couldn't be any more divided.

HPI: Christine Matthews did that poll for Howey Politics Indiana that showed 54% favored civil rights ex-

middle ground between "four words and a comma" folks and Curt Smith saying that there are no grounds for reconciliation and compromise. What do your colleagues need to know?

Bosma: My hope is that we can reconcile two deeply held Hoosier beliefs: No. 1, everyone should be free to live in accordance with their own conscience. And, 2, Hoosiers don't like discrimination. It doesn't matter what class you're in, what category you're in, you've got these two very deeply held beliefs. No. 1, I shouldn't have to do anything my conscience dictates I shouldn't, and No. 2, we shouldn't allow anyone to be discriminated against, no matter who they are. So, my hope is that we can find a position where responsible conservative Republican leaders can stand together, recognizing the freedom of conscience, as well as recognizing we shouldn't be discriminating against people based on who they are.

HPI: Define the phrase "freedom of conscience."

Bosma: This is where the reconciliation gets a little difficult. Most people I have spoken with agree a same-sex couple shouldn't be asked to leave a restaurant or be denied a hotel room. Where the rub begins is

tension to include sexual orientation and 34% opposed. Is that consistent with your internals?

Bosma: Yes. That doesn't surprise me. When you drill down into should you make someone participate in a ceremony, Hoosiers don't care for that one either. That's where we have to find common ground. It may be a uniquely Indiana solution. We may not be able to find a solution a majority of elected officials can agree on. If we do find one, it may be a uniquely Indiana solution. You're talking about four words and a comma? You're talking about one of the most conservative states with Republican super majorities. My experience is when people say they aren't going to compromise, when it comes down to it, they are willing to compromise.

HPI: Have you and Sen. Long and the governor met on this?

Bosma: We've had several conversations.

HPI: Over the phone? In Gov. Pence's office?

Bosma: Over a variety of issues. We've met in person. We do that throughout, even in the interim. So, yes, we've had a number of discussions.

HPI: So this is a work in progress? Nothing has been determined? I had informed and reliable sources tell of a business meeting with the governor where the topic didn't come up until late in the meeting, and the governor didn't think the issue was a priority in rural Indiana. Do you think he is where he needs to be on this? Whatever decision he makes on this will have policy repercussions and political repercussions. Am I overstating this?

Bosma: I don't think you are.

HPI: Are you comfortable where Gov. Pence is?

Bosma: I don't disagree with his point that this is much more of a prominent discussion in urban and suburban areas, as opposed to rural areas.

HPI: But 70% of the population lives in a city or town.

Bosma: Is that right? But 70% of the representatives don't come from the cities. I met with the guys from Salesforce right here two weeks ago. Great folks. They were talking and they were asking what the challenges were in all of this. I have gay friends, I have a lot of acquaintances, some are same sex couples, some are married, so I feel fairly acquainted with the community. There are plenty of folks in rural Indiana who may not be able to point to a single person in their community they know who is gay. So there is just a perspective issue on it. I would say the more rural areas, it's going to be more true. It makes it a challenge when most of your policymakers come from rural areas.

HPI: When we were in high school, kids weren't coming out of the closet. Now, many of us have an uncle, a nephew, a niece, a brother or sister who has. Maureen (Hayden) did that story on Rep. Saunders, who lives in a

rural town, who has gay neighbors and he talked with his pastor about HJR-3, who advised him "love they neighbor."

Bosma: Yeah. I'll reiterate what I said earlier, it's my goal to have a civil discussion about it. I don't think policymakers are going to be blackmailed into a decision. I'm certainly not going to force a decision or a solution on my caucus members. It's my hope we have a civil, thorough policy discussion to do what's right for Indiana.

Statewide broadband

HPI: I did a column last week advocating universal broadband for all of Indiana. Is that a good idea?

Bosma: Yes, it sure is. We've tried a variety means of making that happen. The state has an organization that bought dark optic cable with the hopes of bringing broadband everywhere, or at least the vast majority. The problem is that last mile or two and the cost of that is extensive, and it also puts government in the position of competing with the private sector. It's a sticky solution.

HPI: Is it fair to compare this to rural electrification and phone service?

Bosma: Yeah, certainly the rural electrification. A lot of our REMCs are getting into

this business. They run that last mile of electric wire to farms and rural homes. In my district Nine Star is making the investments and others are as well. Hopefully that will be part of the solution. We've made investments and we need to make more. Our goal is to have broadband access to every school, and in every community. There are potential solutions.

2020 gubernatorial race

HPI: Gov. Pence won't be on the ballot in 2020, unless he loses next year and tries to come back. Is a gubernatorial candidacy something you will look at?

Bosma: Sure. Yeah it is. We've had a long string of strong policy victories over the last 12 or 15 years. And great part it's been our team to help put Indiana in a strong position it is in today. In that 15-year period there's only been one key leader all the way through. So I would love to have the opportunity to maintain those great policies that make Indiana a great place to live, work, create jobs. A lot can happen between now and then.

HPI: Would that be the career capstone?

Bosma: It's always been something I've hoped to be able to do. There's a lot of time between now and four years from now. It depends on my ability to bring strong solutions, innovations to the table, as we have for the last decade. I would greatly appreciate the opportunity if it should occur. I've worked personally with six governors in both parties, and many others. ❖

'We've had a long string of strong policy victories over the last 12 to 15 years. In that 15-year period there's only been one key leader all the way through . . . '

Pence still suffers from RFRA debacle in 2015 Hoosier Survey

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – The 2015 version of the Ball State Hoosier Survey conducted by the Bowen Center for Public Affairs and WISH-TV shows that Gov. Mike Pence is still suffering political damage from the Religious Freedom Restoration Act.



It shows that Pence's job approval is at 47%, down from 62% from the 2014 survey. "And this is where RFRA — and some of the other issues that we've also polled on — show that Pence really got hurt,"

said Ball State political science professor Ray Scheele.

In a head-to-head with Democrat John Gregg, Pence had a 41.6 to 37.2% lead.

The Hoosier Survey comes as Pence and Republican legislative leaders are grappling with how to handle the call for civil rights expansion to include sexual orientation from the business, moderate and Millennial wings of the Republican Party, Democrats and LGBT activists.

The Indiana Chamber of Commerce announced this morning that its board had voted "overwhelmingly" to support the expansion, coming just hours after Gov. Pence gave remarks at its awards annual dinner.

"We believe this expansion is a necessary action for the General Assembly to take," said Indiana Chamber President and CEO Kevin Brinegar. "After the negative perception of our state generated by the Religious Freedom Restoration Act in the spring, we need to get this right in order to secure the reputation of Indiana as a hospitable and welcoming place."

Pence's dilemma is that his social conservative base is digging in, saying there is no room for compromise.

Senate Minority Leader Tim Lanane has already prepared legislation for the expansion, and as you've read in the HPI Interview with Speaker Brian Bosma, no decisions on how the Republicans and Pence will respond have been reached. Bosma described the coming showdown as the "heaviest lift" of his legislative leadership

career.

The post-RFRA polling sequence commenced with an April 16 Howey Politics Indiana Poll conducted by Bellwether Research's Christine Matthews, which showed the initial damage to Pence after he signed RFRA on March 26. In the first head-to-head matchup with Gregg, Pence had a 43-37% lead over Gregg. On the question of whether civil rights should be extended to include sexual orientation, the HPI Poll showed 54% favored and 34% opposed.

In September, multiple informed and reliable sources told HPI that Pence's reelection was the lower 30th percentile. In the HPI Interview with Bosma in this edition, he said that HRCC polling showed Pence's reelection was in the 40th percentile over the summer. Bosma also said the internal polling shows the public split on balancing "freedom of conscience" with non-discrimination.

In a second Bellwether Poll conducted for Bill Oesterle in June, Pence's numbers were similar to the April HPI survey. He trailed Gregg 41-40%, his job approval stood and 46/46% approve/disapprove, and his fav/un-favs stood at 34/43%. Pollster Christine Matthews said in June, "We have not seen any evidence of recovery for Gov. Pence since the poll we conducted in mid-April for Howey Politics. In fact, the numbers for him are worse, suggesting that even though RFRA is no longer making headlines, it has not been forgotten."

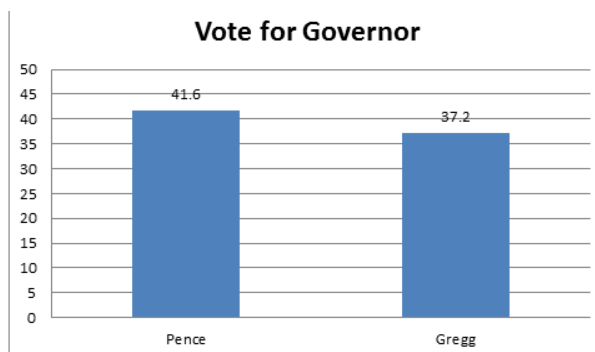
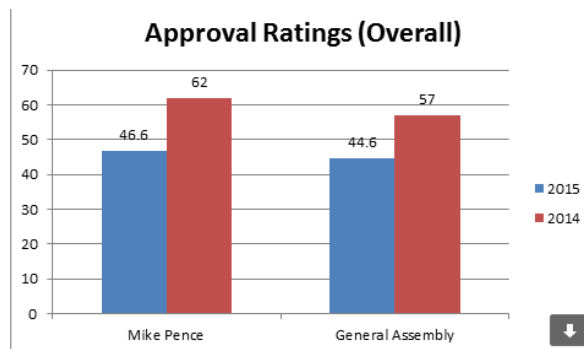
So the Hoosier Survey numbers show little recovery in the past eight months. And there's still a slight chance that Pence could face a primary challenge from Indianapolis Mayor Gregg Ballard, who was asked Wednesday about running for office again. "I'm not there yet," said Ballard, who was a vociferous critic of RFRA.

Gregg told Howey Politics Indiana on Wednesday afternoon that the RFRA sequence has "defined" Pence, something he believes could stick with the governor.

"People are done with the politics of personal ideology," Gregg said. "All I'm hearing is they want problem solving, they want a pragmatic leader, they want a leader who can bring people together."

"This is going to come down to Mike Pence's record and our vision, and our ability to bring people together and govern in a bipartisan fashion," Gregg said. "He's got to run on his record. This race is all about leadership, because moderates in Indiana are going to decide this race."

The Pence campaign could not be reached for comment. ❖



Recount, council vote could break Jasper tie

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS - With elections, there's nothing worse than a recount.

I remember sitting on the French Lick Hotel veranda with U.S. Rep. Frank McCloskey in August 1994. He was in a tough race with Republican John Hostettler and the national tide was running strongly against the Democrats. McCloskey knew deep down he was in trouble.

But the thing he kept repeating was this: "I just don't want a recount. I just don't want a recount."

McCloskey's angst was driven by his 1984 race against Republican Rick McIntyre, who trailed by 72 votes, initially, and then when two precincts were double counted, actually had a 34-vote lead. It commenced months of haggling and consternation, ultimately settled in a party line vote by the U.S. House.

In 1986, I covered a recount for the Elkhart Truth in the old 3rd CD, where Democrat Tom Ward and Republican U.S. Rep. John Hiler were essentially tied. The ensuing recount conducted by rookie Secretary of State Evan Bayh, and aided and abetted by Republican Election Board member Rex Early, who at one point affixed a sign predating Forest Gump in the recount meeting room that aptly described the entire process:

"Shit happens."

After watching little old ladies in the bowels of the Elkhart County Courthouse boiler room counting ballots hand by hand, anyone associated with the process or covering it in the media could only conjure one word: Excruciating.

And that's how I found Jasper Mayor Terry Seitz last Wednesday afternoon. Having barely survived a Republican primary challenge last May, when the ballots were counted Tuesday night, he ended up in a 1,856-1,856 tie with Democratic challenger Wayne Schuetter.

Howey Politics Indiana has been publishing for 21 years, and this is the first mayoral tie in my memory.

Recounts can be filed in the next two weeks, and if the totals don't change, it's up to the city council.



Democrat challenger Wayne Schuetter (left) and Jasper Mayor Terry Seitz on election night. The two ended up in a tie, which could be broken by a recount, or a vote from the current city council, which is 4-3 Democratic. (DuBois County Herald Photo)

The current city council is 4-3 Democratic. Indiana Code says this tie must be broken by Dec. 31, with the new council and mayor sworn in on Jan. 1, 2016.

The new council is 4-3 Republican.

Seitz was unsure about whether he or Schuetter will seek a recount. "The candidate has to pick up the cost," he said. "We are evaluating that, looking at state statutes and the scope of it, the cost of it. We'll let it run its course. Ultimately I'm still working to make sure the city functions."

I told him about McCloskey's aversion to anything associated with the word "recount" and Seitz responded, "I can't disagree with him on that."

Schuetter, a retired social studies teacher, told the Associated Press he expected the voting results to be close. "This is another good indicator as to why everybody needs to get out and vote," Schuetter said.

City Council President Tom Schmidt, a Democrat who didn't seek re-election, said he was surprised that the council could decide the mayoral race. "I never dreamt that it would come down to this," Schmitt, a council member since 1976, told AP. "It's a tough thing. I don't know what the protocol will be on this."

Asked what his relationship has been with the four Democrats on the council, Seitz told HPI, "I've had a good relationship with a majority of the council. We've disagreed with on some issues, but we've also had a number of 7-0 votes."

Seitz, who was headed to Indianapolis today to consult with the Indiana Republican Party, is philosophical about his predicament, telling the DuBois County Herald, "I have a feeling there is a life lesson in this. It is interesting to be part of history." ❖

Fantasy Football prompts legislation

By MAUREEN HAYDEN
CNHI Statehouse Bureau

INDIANAPOLIS – Lawmaker and sports fan Alan Morrison watched online fantasy sports grow into a multi-billion dollar industry. Now, he wants the state to regulate and tax it like other legal forms of gambling.

Morrison, a Republican from Terre Haute who plays fantasy sports, said he's drafting legislation to regulate sites including DraftKings and FanDuel, turning over control of their operation in Indiana to the state's licensed casinos. "We've got an existing gaming industry here that has to play by our rules," he said. "For another entity to come in and play by a separate set of rules isn't fair."



Morrison's proposal, which would be filed in the coming year, reflects a growing interest nationally to rein in, and capitalize on, the big-money sites. At least 15 states have moved to control the fantasy leagues engaging in massive online transactions that, until recently, have escaped federal oversight.

Proposals in several states – including Arizona, Iowa, Louisiana, Montana and Washington – move to ban outright the Web-based contests as illegal gambling. Other states are looking for ways to pull the sites into their legal gaming frameworks, to protect players and generate much-needed revenue for their budgets.

"States aren't waiting for the federal government to act," said Morrison, who failed last year to push forward a similar bill to legalize sports betting. His colleagues, already engaged in a losing battle with Gov. Mike Pence over measures to boost casino revenues, weren't interested in taking on another gaming fight.

Morrison is convinced the stakes are higher now. The fantasy sports industry is growing rapidly – some 56 million players are now involved – as the state's tax revenue from brick-and-mortar casinos is projected to continue a steady decline.

Senate Appropriations Chairman Luke Kenley, R-Noblesville, hasn't endorsed Morrison's plan. But he's heard about from the bill's likely co-sponsor, Sen. Jon Ford, R-Terre Haute, and would like to see it debated.

"The rest of our gaming businesses are subject to taxes," said Kenley. "It seems appropriate that this should be, too."

Morrison's measure may face long odds given un-

certainty at the federal level over whether fantasy sports gaming is even legal. But he fears a tougher obstacle in convincing colleagues that fantasy sports are big enough for the state to tackle.

"I don't know if people realize how big it's really become," he said. "Years ago, it was just some nerds sitting in their mom's basement, playing it with their friends." In September, the Wall Street Journal valued FanDuel and DraftKings, the biggest daily fantasy sports operators, at more than \$1 billion each.

Players are generally college-educated men in their 30s with money, according to the Fantasy Sports Trade Association. The average player spends \$465 on the games a year. In addition to the allure of creating hypothetical teams that succeed or fail with the results of real professional players, fans are attracted by the sites' big prizes. DraftKings expects to pay close to \$2 billion in cash prizes this year.

Lucrative partnerships with sports teams and broadcasters such as ESPN have lent the online industry legitimacy. The industry is gaining publicity as it dumps hundreds of millions of dollars into advertising.

Some of the attention is negative. Federal prosecutors in New York are looking into allegations that a DraftKings employee used proprietary information to play on another fantasy site, a charge that the company denies, according to the Wall Street Journal. The sites are drawing attention from members of Congress and others who question their legality. Under the Unlawful Internet Gambling and Enforcement Act of 2006, sports betting is illegal in most states. But the law opens a window for fantasy leagues, based on an argument that they involve more skill than luck. That argument is being increasingly tested as money generated by online games escalates. Last month, the Nevada Gaming Commission banned the fantasy sports websites, then ordered their operators to apply for a state gambling license.

Morrison is looking to Pennsylvania for a similar model. Lawmakers there are debating whether to put the fantasy leagues under control of state's gaming commission. That would compel them to partner with already established, and regulated, casinos and pay a licensing fee to the state.

Players would log into a casino website and be directed to fantasy sports league sites to play their games. Morrison said most wouldn't notice a difference.

Morrison said hitching the fantasy leagues to casinos also enables the state to build in financial safeguards for players and to collect a wagering tax, akin to one that casinos already pay whenever someone places a bet, Morrison said.



State Rep. Alan Morrison seeks to regulate fantasy betting. (HPI Photo by Mark Curry)

The fantasy leagues are likely to resist such a move. Jeremy Kudon, a national lobbyist for DraftKings and FanDuel, said the industry opposes legislation that forces them to partner with casinos, calling it “tantamount to a ban.” He warned that adopting the proposed Pennsylvania model would cause the fantasy sports companies to pull out of Indiana. That could infuriate 1 million or more Hoosiers who patronize the sites, according to the trade association.

Ed Feigenbaum, publisher of Indiana Gaming Insight, calls Morrison’s proposal “premature,” given the legal issues surrounding online sports gaming that have yet to be sorted out at the federal level. Still, he said he

understands the desire of states, and casino operators, to capture some of the flood of dollars generated by the industry.

Casinos, with traditional slot machines and roulette wheels, have largely failed to attract technology-savvy Millennials who play fantasy sports online. “Casinos know they can’t bring this generation into their casinos as their regular customers,” he said. “They know they’ve got capture them in some other way.” ❖

Maureen Hayden covers the Indiana Statehouse for CNHI’s newspapers and websites. Reach her at mhayden@cnhi.com

Mayor elections and primacy of place

By **MICHAEL HICKS**

MUNCIE – This is election week in Indiana, and the most visible seat is that of the Indianapolis mayor.

Most of what transpires in a campaign is of little interest to the author of an economics column, but the discussion about local economic development matters a great deal. Comments by candidates Brewer and Hogsett offer a window into the broader debate that is now animating Indiana and lots of other places. Let me explain.



In a series of debates, both candidates talked about local economic development efforts, and TV ads for both feature a discussion about development.

But this has not been a rehashing of the past. Both candidates have been talking about 21st century economic development policies, not outdated 20th century efforts, and that is a splendid turn of events.

Most visibly, Mr. Hogsett’s TV ads talk about community development, including a clear description of how he would enforce ordinances to fix up neighborhoods. This is exciting stuff that ought to be part of every municipal election conversation, although it is not something that can be done in every city and town in Indiana. Our capital city has been seriously in the business of fixing its downtown for 40 years. That success allows it to focus on some decaying peripheral neighborhoods in ways that most cities cannot yet consider.

Most courageously, Mr. Brewer last week called for the virtual end of property tax abatements in the city. He acknowledges, as does everyone without a financial interest in them, that abatements and other economic devel-

opment incentives have been dramatically over-deployed. Indiana’s local governments sacrifice almost \$1.5 billion per year on development incentives, abatements and other local economic development efforts. That is more than we spend locally on anything but public schools. Serious scrutiny of property tax abatements are just beginning.

Both candidates back some incentives, primarily those involved with quality of place efforts inside the city. Like most Hoosiers, they both understand there are some good uses for local government incentives. But like most Hoosiers, they also apprehend that most local economic development spending is wasted, yielding little or no benefit for taxpayers or communities while depriving schools, cities and towns of much-needed revenue.

This policy shift isn’t confined to our largest city. In many places outside of Indianapolis, a focus on quality of place seems to be taking hold. The state’s Regional Cities Initiative was bold enough that 70 percent of the state’s residents now live in regions with an honest and realistic plan to attract more people to their areas. That alone is a monumental policy achievement, as significant as anything that has been tried by any state in a couple decades.

It is hard to have a conversation about the revolutionary thinking about local economic development without mentioning Kokomo Mayor Greg Goodnight. His experiences and success would fill a textbook on how to execute 21st century economic development.

The debates within the Indianapolis mayoral campaign offer clear and cheerful evidence that Indiana is finally embracing the need to make our communities aspirational places to make a home. ❖

Michael J. Hicks, PhD, is the director of the Center for Business and Economic Research and the George and Frances Ball distinguished professor of economics in the Miller College of Business at Ball State University.

Coats staffing tree is very influential

Publisher’s Note: With David Hoppe being named chief of staff to House Speaker Paul Ryan, and Sharon Soderstrom the chief of staff for Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell, the staffing tree originating from the office of U.S. Sen. Dan Coats has had an out-sized influence on Capitol Hill. “I was blessed to have an exceptional staff, all of whom have gone on to major accomplishments in their careers,” Sen. Coats said. “They helped me greatly to be an effective senator representing our state and working for a stronger America.” Former congressman and Howey Politics Indiana contributor Mark Souder writes about the extended Coats staffing tree:

By MARK SOUDER

FORT WAYNE – David Hoppe had been a long-time friend of Dan Coats going back to when Coats was district director for then Congressman Dan Quayle. Dave was dating Karen Davis, a top legislative staffer for Quayle, whom he later married. Dave was also a University of Notre Dame grad, his direct tie to Indiana. Dave worked as chief of staff (COS) for Trent Lott, when Lott was House whip, and then for Jack Kemp, when Kemp was conference chairman.

When Dan Coats was appointed to the United States Senate by Gov. Bob Orr to replace incoming Vice-President Dan Quayle, Coats had to get a staff up and running after the Senate was already in session. He selected Dave as his chief of staff. Coats’ House allies – Curt Smith, Mark Ahearn and I – were soon on board officially.

It was a powerful Coats staff. In the room next to Dave’s, Sharon Soderstrom and I shared a small office. Sharon is now chief of staff to Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell. She was COS to Sen. Coats when he chose not to run for reelection back in 1998. She then joined Dave in the Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott’s office, when Dave was Lott’s COS. Sharon later became Lott’s COS and McConnell, because of her skills, kept her on when he took over the Leader position.

In that same larger room with Sharon and me, just outside our office, were key aides Michael Gerson, Ziad Ojakli and Angela Flood. Michael ran President George

W. Bush’s speechwriting office. Mike now is an influential national columnist with the Washington Post, commentator, and author. Ziad, after serving as my first COS, went to Sen. Coverdell’s office and then when Bush was elected, ran his Senate legislative operations. To illustrate the small world of Washington politics, Z, who first worked for Dave in the Kemp for President campaign while Z was a college student, went from the White House to vice president of Ford’s national government relations. One of Hoppe Strategies’ major clients, which was founded and run by Dave, is Ford. Angela also went to work for me when I won, first as press secretary and then COS. She later moved over to the Bush Administration as deputy political director.

In the next room was the

press operation headed by Curt Smith, later COS to Congressman Hostetler and currently head of the Indiana Family Institute. Assisting Curt was Tim Goeglein, who also held a senior position in the Bush White House, and currently represents Focus on the Family in Washington. There were a number of able assistants in the press office over the years, but one of particular note was Rob Schwarzwald, now executive vice president of the Family Research Council.

We had an incredible staff when Dave was COS (I was deputy chief) throughout the whole system, and also many outstanding interns who have remained politically active in Indiana, Washington and many other states. One of the young staffers was Chris Donesa of Fort Wayne. Chris, also later was a COS of mine and chief counsel for the House Intelligence Committee (among other posts), is now deputy chief of staff of Chairman Trey Gowdy’s House Benghazi Select Committee.

One staffer of particular interest to this story is Judith Kemp Nolan. Jack Kemp had called Dave to ask him to hire his daughter, Judith, and Dave asked me to handle the request. After talking

through her goals, she took a job with Congressman Chris Cox of California. She soon came back to me, and said she had decided she’d rather work for us. So Dave asked me to take her as my aide, which I was pleased to do.

A staffer who worked just down the hall at the Senate Small Business Committee was named Paul Ryan. Like Dave, he was from Wisconsin. Dave was from Baraboo, the circus town by the Wisconsin Dells, and Paul was from Janesville. Both were Packers fans. Jack Kemp was also Paul Ryan’s political hero. Paul used to drop into our office regularly, sometimes to see Dave but usually to



U.S. Sen. Dan Coats’ staffing tree includes (from second row to right) David Hoppe now COS to Speaker Ryan, Sharon Soderstrom now COS to Sen. McConnell, Washington Post columnist Michael Gerson, former Rep. Souder, and Curt Smith of the Indiana Family Institute.

talk politics and economics with our high-powered staff. Though I and others also suspected he had a crush on Angela Flood at the time.

Sen. Coats' staff was a "hot shop" especially for the conservative movement during those years when Dave

was COS. And I doubt that never before in history, have the most powerful staffer in the United States Senate and the most powerful staffer in the United States House both come from one Indiana Senate office. ❖

Deep-seated Congress problems are fixable

By LEE HAMILTON

BLOOMINGTON – The American people don't expect a solution to everything. But they do expect a Congress that's capable of developing creative approaches to the major problems of the day.

A lot of ink is being spilled about the speakership drama in the U.S. House, the demands by members of the conservative Freedom Caucus, and the turmoil besetting the Republicans who run Capitol Hill. There is a pervasive sense in Washington that Congress has gone, at least temporarily, off the rails. Even members of Congress are saying it. "I think the House is bordering on ungovernable right now," one prominent Republican told NBC earlier this month. I've been around congressional politics for over 50 years, and I can't ever remember hearing a member of Congress say such a thing.



All this attention on the crises of the moment suggests that resolving them will fix Congress. It won't. There are three deep-seated issues that have to be addressed before Congress can play a constructive role in sustaining our place in the world and tackling the tough economic and social issues we face at home.

The first sounds simple, but it is not: Congress should work its will by letting its members vote on the major issues of the day. In legislatures, whoever controls procedure usually controls results. In Congress, leaders and sometimes followers in both parties for years have manipulated the process to get the results they want.

Omnibus bills and continuing resolutions are part of this. Leaders try to avoid tough issues if their caucus members don't want to vote on them. The 60-vote requirement to avoid a filibuster in the Senate plays a role. So does the "Hastert Rule" in the House, under which a majority of the majority caucus has to give its approval before a measure moves forward.

These all carry a cost. Crucial issues facing the American people don't get addressed. Congress moves from crisis to crisis. Americans give up on the institu-

tion. And members get frustrated when they can't vote on issues they know their constituents want Congress to address. Giving members of the House and the Senate a fair shot at addressing the nation's challenges would deal Congress back into the policy-making arena.

Second, Congress over the years has developed several bad habits that it needs to fix. These include huge bills that become vehicles for special-interest provisions and leadership wish-lists; bypassing the committee process; concentrating power in the leaders; curbing the participation of most members; and limiting debates and amendments. The most pernicious of these is the practice of legislating by omnibus bills. These consist of hundreds of provisions – usually drafted in the dead of night by leadership staff, not members of Congress – brought to the floor with scant time for anyone to read them, limited time for debate, and few amendments allowed. They're usually timed to come up just before a key deadline on a single up-or-down vote, so that the leadership can threaten a government shutdown if the bill fails.

The sad part here is that there are a lot of members who've never known anything different. An entire generation on Capitol Hill thinks that bills they had no part in shaping, are unable to debate, and have no choice but to pass are the way Congress runs.

It's not. There's another way, and it brings me to my third point. We have over 200 years of experience on Capitol Hill that have taught us how to run a legislature so that the voice of the people can be better heard, multiple viewpoints get considered, and ordinary legislators get a fair shot at influencing the results. It's called the "regular order," and it involves committees with authority holding hearings, debating issues, and reporting bills to the floor, where members get several chances to shape the legislation through amendments. The regular order requires negotiation and compromise, and gives members a fair crack at crafting policy for the nation.

The American people want Congress to work. They don't expect a solution to everything, and they certainly don't expect miracles. But they do expect a Congress that tries to make progress and that's capable of developing creative approaches to the major problems of the day. The frustration for me is that we know how to do things better with a time-tested process, but members of Congress simply ignore it. ❖

Lee Hamilton head Indiana University's Center on Congress.

The World War II Honor Flight faces we can never forget

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

PLAINFIELD — On a rainy Saturday night, they rolled into the Plainfield HS gymnasium. There was a GI who had stormed Utah Beach on D-Day. There was survivor from the USS Indianapolis, which was destroyed after delivering the atomic bombs that would end the war. There was my father, Jack Howe, drafted in 1943, rejected due to his bad eyesight, who toiled on Great Lakes ore freighters for U.S. Steel that forged the Arsenal of Democracy, then redrafted in 1945 as the Pentagon began mustering what was to be a one million man invasion of Japan.

These were the men and women, black and white, who took the World War II Honor Flight to Washington on Saturday, where they visited the World War II Memorial. The mission is simple: "To transport America's Veterans to Washington, D.C., to visit those memorials dedicated to honor their sacrifices.

"Of all of the wars in recent memory, it was World War II that truly threatened our very existence as a nation — and as a culturally diverse, free society," the Honor Flight mission states. "Now, with over 900 World War II veterans dying each day, our time to express our thanks to these brave men and women is running out."

There have been waves of these flights from Indiana and various points across the nation. Some 200 veterans on this day were greeted by former U.S. Sen. Bob Dole, who was critically wounded in at battle near Castel d'Aiano, and has become a chief advocate of Americans who, literally, saved civilization.

The humanity of their return was an extraordinary juxtaposition of time. As these veterans were wheeled in by their volunteer guardians who accompanied them on the flight to Washington, they held photos of who they had been: Sailors, Marines, GIs, radio men, paratroopers, pilots and navigators, gunners, submarine commanders and crew. As they wheeled by, you watched their grizzled faces, now adorned with the red lipstick of a V-E Day style kiss, contrasting with who they were.

These were the faces you would never forget from basic, even if you never knew their names. There was a searing innocence in these young faces, unclouded by TV, or narcotics, cynicism and the greed that followed the great war. They were the faces of promise, aspiration and duty.

Seven decades plus had passed. These men and women returned to America, married, raised family (some raising livestock and crops on farms), started businesses and factories, worked assembly lines, delivered mail, committed serious journalism, and helped forge the next riveting chapter as members of what Tom Brokaw has famously described as the "Greatest Generation" in the epic American experience. The precursor to their struggles in Europe, Africa and the Pacific Theater was the Great Depression, which hardened them into humanity's greatest military. Some would come face to face with the Nazi concentration camps that attempted to wipe out the

Jews of Europe and redefine humanity in the most sinister way.

As Hanks and Spielberg would put it in "Band of Brothers" (which debuted shortly after Sept. 11, 2001), "This is why we fight."

They went from the greatest military to create an economic, scientific, spiritual and technological juggernaut that has emphatically reshaped two centuries amidst a millennial divide.

To witness an Honor Flight is to never forget the faces, young and old, that make today's life possible, who literally saved civilization. ❖



Lake Democrats rally

By RICH JAMES

MERRILLVILLE – Although the role of precinct committeemen has changed considerably over the years, Lake County Democrats still know how to turn out an election eve crowd. Such was the case last week when some 700 Democrats turned out for a rally called by county Chairman (and sheriff) John Buncich at St. Constantine and Helen Greek Orthodox Cathedral in Merrillville.



At \$100 a ticket, the party raised a good bit of money. But because there were few highly contested races in Lake County on Tuesday, including the lack of a competitive mayoral race, the crowd didn't show up with a priority of boosting the Election Day turnout.

While there was brief talk about the Nov. 3 municipal elections, this rally was clearly about 2016, with emphasis on the statewide ticket. In fact, some of the likely statewide nominees, led by governor candidate John Gregg, were on hand.

Also in attendance were Superintendent of Public Instruction Glenda Ritz, U.S. Senate candidate Baron Hill and local favorite Lorenzo Arredondo, who is running

for attorney general. Arredondo is a retired Lake Circuit Court judge.

Gregg clearly was the star of the show. In his typical southern Indiana style, Gregg thanked the crowd for the impressive turnout. "There are more people in this room than there are in my township back home," Gregg said. Gregg touched on a number of issues, each time saying he was "tired" of a host of things that Gov. Mike Pence and the Republican majority in the Legislature have done, or in some cases, not done. But not one of issues drew the kind of response as did a reference to the Cline Avenue Bridge that hasn't been rebuilt since the state closed it in 2009. When Pence spoke to the Gary Chamber of Commerce a couple weeks ago, he was asked about the bridge. Pence quickly deflected the query and told the questioner to contact the Indiana Department of Transportation.

A local Democratic elected official who serves on the Northwestern Indiana Regional Planning Commission spoke to Cline Avenue as well. He said that he often mentions the lack of progress to the head of the Indiana Department of Transportation at the planning commission meetings. And he is told each time to contact the governor. Talk about passing the buck.

Gregg, Ritz and Hill also took on rock star status with the local crowd as they posed for photographs for about an hour after the program ended. ❖

Rich James has been writing about state and local government and politics for more than 30 years.

Indy council races a tossup? Or ho-hum?

By MORTON MARCUS

INDIANAPOLIS – Was the 2015 election for 25 seats on Indianapolis-Marion County Council hotly contested? Or was it just another ho-hum exercise of political power contested only at the fringes?



At first glance, it was a toss-up. Democrats won 13 of the 25 seats with 50.4 percent of the votes cast. Republicans won the other 12 seats with 48.6 percent of the votes, while minor candidates garnered 1 percent. This slim margin of victory by Council Democrats (1 seat and 1.8 percent of the vote) is in stark contrast to the 24 percent margin in the mayor's race (62 percent for Democrat Hogsett vs 38 percent for Republican Brewer).

While close in the aggregate, only five seats were competitively contested, that is won by 55 percent or less

of the votes cast. Three of those were won by Republicans and two by Democrats. The other 20 council seats were won in landslides, as defined by politicians (more than 55 percent of the vote to the winner).

One of the landslides winners, a Republican candidate, was unopposed. Another eight seats were won in dominant form (over 80% of the votes) by 7 Democrats and 1 Republican. Un-competitive races (60 to 80% for the winning candidate) numbered 7, split 4 for Democrats and 3 for Republicans. Four seats, all won by Republicans, were potentially competitive, coming in over 55% but under 60%. Some commentators will say these results show the balance between the parties in Marion County. Other will find that the council districts are drawn to offer little inter-party competition. There appear to be 16 safe seats (over 60% of the vote to the winner) assured in the 25 districts; 11 for Democrats and 5 for Republicans.

Ultimately, the question will not come down to safe seats or wins for Democrats vs Republicans. Rather, we will seek to have districts drawn with impartiality, without the intent to favor one party or certain incumbent office holders. Nor will the districts be set to create an artificial balance between the major parties. Isn't that what we expect in a fair election? ❖

Matthew Tully, IndyStar: The turnout was low, and the campaigns were just as low-key. But the stakes — for Indianapolis as well as Central Indiana and the entire state — could hardly have been higher. With the exception of governor, there is no more important politician in Indiana than the mayor of Indianapolis, and that job soon will belong to Joe Hogsett. The former secretary of state and high-profile U.S. attorney on Tuesday won his first election in 25 years, erasing the sting of three consecutive high-profile losses on his resume and returning the mayor's office to the Democratic Party for the first time in eight years. His landslide victory means Hogsett in less than two months will take control of a city that has experienced a tremendous rebirth in many ways, with rejuvenated neighborhoods and a sense of momentum, but also a capital city hit relentlessly by violent crime and one with many neighborhoods locked in crisis. The truth is this: How Indianapolis goes, Indiana goes. More than ever. And another truth: More than any other figures over the past five decades, the city's five most recent mayors have driven the city forward, taking the Central Indiana suburbs and the rest of the state along for the ride. It's a big job. "Remember after you are elected that you have become mayor for all the people," former four-term mayor Bill Hudnut wrote via email, "and not just those who helped you get elected." Stephen Goldsmith, who followed Hudnut into the mayor's office, said a mayor must build a spirit of optimism in the city and convince residents and others that great things are possible. "The mayor," he wrote, "sets the tone for that vision with aspirational goals, by eschewing partisan politics and by representing those who are not at the table or in the room when a decision is being made." "Make sure you hear from all sorts of different people, with different points of view, on a regular basis," former Fort Wayne Mayor Paul Helmke suggested, "and then do what you think is the right thing for the city." ❖



Doug Ross, NWI Times: The 2015 election is all over but the whining, so it's on to the one people have been talking about for months — 2016. With the president, governor, U.S. House, U.S. Senate, Indiana House and some state Senate races on the ballot, along with a number of county offices, there are a lot of issues to examine. Among them should be public health. Just last week, we learned there's an "alarming increase" in the number of infectious syphilis cases reported across Indiana. Preliminary data show 357 early syphilis cases, meaning newly diagnosed, reported between Jan. 10 and Oct. 3. That's an increase of nearly 53 percent from the 234 diagnosed during the same period in 2014. Most, but not all, cases involve men having sex with men. The number of cases of congenital syphilis among pregnant women also has increased. I'll spare you the details of the symptoms. You probably already know this is a sexually transmitted

disease, and that infected women can transmit it to their unborn babies. State Health Commission Jerome Adams is concerned about the increase in cases of this preventable and curable disease. This isn't the only disease attracting the attention of public health professionals. Drug abuse in Indiana is rampant, too. U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly and Surgeon General Vivek Murthy held a conference call for journalists last week to discuss what Murthy calls an "epidemic" of opioid abuse in Indiana. "We need to stop treating addiction as a moral failing and see it as what it is, which is an illness," Murthy said. Murthy praised Indiana Gov. Mike Pence, Attorney General Greg Zoeller and health commissioner Adams for their efforts on this issue. ❖

Frank Gray, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette: Tuesday was what you could call a medium-scale function of democracy. People in little bitty towns and medium cities and big cities went to vote. In St. Joe in DeKalb County, 29 people voted to make Allison McKean their clerk-treasurer. And in Fort Wayne, the people chose a mayor and City Council members. The troublesome part is that in Allen County overall, not even 1 in 4 people bothered to vote. If you study political science, you'll be told, rightly or wrongly, that when voter turnout is high, sky high, it shows that there are problems, that people are unhappy or worried. On the other hand, if turnout is low, it shows that the people are apathetic, that they don't care or they've given up. When only 1 in 4 of the people who have bothered to register to vote show up, it makes one wonder. Is the public engaged? Do they care? Or are the politicians running for office not engaging the public? ❖

Greg Sargent, Washington Post: The news that Tea Party Republican Matt Bevin snatched the Kentucky governor's mansion away from Democrats is a particularly stark reminder of how deep a hole Democrats have dug for themselves at the state level, and of the consequences that could have for the long-term success of the liberal and Democratic agenda. Bevin will replace Democratic governor Steve Beshear, who was perhaps the leading evangelist for the Affordable Care Act in the South. Beshear famously set up a Kentucky health insurance exchange and opted in to Obamacare's Medicaid expansion amid a region of hostility towards the law. Bevin has pledged to transition people off of the exchange to the federal one, and to shut down the state's Medicaid expansion. But in Kentucky, the law has succeeded at its primary goal: Early on it successfully brought health coverage to some of the state's (and the country's) poorest and unhealthiest counties, and Gallup found earlier this year that Kentucky boasted the second largest drop in the uninsured rate of any state in the country. Now those policy gains may be in some doubt. It remains to be seen how the state battle over rolling back Obamacare will play out or whether people will actually end up losing benefits. ❖

Tallian bill after dismal turnout

INDIANAPOLIS – After yet another Indiana election marked by dismal voter turnout, state Sen. Karen Tallian, D-Ogden Dunes, believes the General Assembly has a responsibility to make it easier for Hoosiers to participate in their government (Carden, NWI Times). “We can cross our fingers and hope things get better or we can make some common sense reforms and ensure Hoosiers can exercise their right to vote without jumping through hoops,” Tallian said. Tallian announced Wednesday that she will propose legislation enabling county clerks to keep polling places open past 6 p.m., establishing more satellite early voting sites, easing the process of voting by mail and permitting Election Day registration for new voters. “It is difficult to say whether low voter turnout is due to busy lives, procedural difficulties or voter apathy,” Tallian said. “However, as legislators, it is our obligation to do as much as we can to minimize the obstacles caused by the first two sources and that is what I intend to address.” Under her plan, which could be considered by the Legislature in January, all Hoosiers automatically would be registered to vote when they obtain a driver’s license, unless they choose to opt out. She also wants lawmakers to study the idea of shifting elections online to save money and make it easier for Hoosiers to participate. “More than 120 million Americans filed their taxes online last year,” Tallian said. “If it is possible to make that process safe and secure, then I believe we should take a serious look at what it would take to move elections firmly into the 21st century.” State Sen. Greg Walker, R-Columbus, the chairman of the Senate Elections Committee, did not immediately return a request for comment on Tallian’s proposal.



While turnout results are not yet finalized, it appears Tuesday’s election will be the fourth in a row where fewer than 3 in 10 registered Hoosier voters cast a ballot.

Record low turnout in Indy, doughnut

INDIANANAPOLIS – For the second consecutive year, Hoosier voters stayed away from the polls in record numbers (IndyStar). In Marion County, 22.69 percent of voters showed up to elect Democrat Joe Hogsett as mayor over political newcomer Chuck Brewer. The previous low for a municipal election was 26.32 percent in 2007, according to Marion County data online going back to 1991. Just four years ago, 30 percent of voters elected Republican Greg Ballard to his second term. Locally, it ranged from 7.63 percent in Hancock County, which had no mayors on the ballot, to 27.95 percent in Boone County, which featured a three-way race for mayor of Lebanon. Tuesday’s lack of interest is an echo from last November. Indiana’s 30 percent turnout in 2014 was the lowest in the nation.

State seeks to divert offenders

INDIANAPOLIS – The state plans to divert more criminal offenders with mental health or substance abuse issues to treatment through the Recovery Works initiative (NWI Times). The program provides \$30 million over the next two years for designated agencies that treat felony offenders for mental illness or drug addiction in lieu of their being incarcerated. Porter-Starke Services, based in Valparaiso, is the only participating agency so far in Northwest Indiana. “Lots of courts across the state have diversion programs or community correction programs, but their access to services was limited because of a lack of funding,” said Kevin Moore, the director of the state Family and Social

Services Administration’s division of mental health and addiction.

SBOE delays new diploma standards

INDIANAPOLIS — The State Board of Education voted Wednesday to delay adoption of stricter new diploma standards amid worries from parents and educators that the overhaul could limit the career potential of students who are struggling to find their way in the world (Associated Press). “We’re talking about 14- and 15 years-olds and not kids that are wizened and have a great career path set in front of them,” said Todd Bess of the Indiana Association of School Principals. The proposed standards would have eliminated a fine arts requirement while beefing up math requirements for some. Meanwhile, the number of diplomas offered would have been narrowed, including the elimination of a “general” high school diploma in favor of a “workforce ready” diploma. Members of the board showed concern about a number of the proposed changes. But in particular they balked at the idea of eliminating the general high school diploma.

Newspaper chain sold to Texas firm

COLUMBUS - The longtime family-owned company that owns several community newspapers in central Indiana—including The Columbus Republic, the Franklin Daily Journal and the Greenfield Reporter—has been sold to a Texas-based media company. AIM Media Indiana LLC, a subsidiary of AIM Media Texas LLC, announced Wednesday it has purchased the print and online newspaper and commercial printing assets from Columbus-based Home News Enterprises LLC. HNE publications in the transaction include the daily newspapers in Columbus, Greenfield, Franklin and Seymour, weekly newspapers in Pendleton and Nashville.